2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1939 NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Pa Pi 172 they would have been pushed by intruders. It is true that this western country is more primitive and more conservative than the rest and also that it lacks a ceremony, the Wiikita, proved to be definitely Puebloan in origin. However, the locality has no tradition of cremation beyond that of the enemy victim. Unsolved elements enter into the problem here.

Another possibility is that the Pimans represent a recent invasion of nomads who drove out the great house builders. Gladwin's objection to this is that their perfect adaptation to their desert habitat precludes their having arrived there as late as 1400 A. D. and data in the following pages go to support such a statement. Nomads warlike enough to conquer the great houses would hardly settle down so soon to a life of industrious agriculture such as the Pimans practise, and if the houses were voluntarily abandoned it would be because the fields were unusable, so no other agriculturists would move in. Gladwin also argues that they have no songs to commemorate such a conquest which should be recent enough for great vividness. They have, as a matter of fact, an elaborate saga, describing how they themselves destroyed the houses,[1] but the writer is inclined to think it a late creation, for the Pimans have, at various times, told quite different versions. Besides the Aztec story, they have said that the houses were built by their own ancestors,[2] by foreigners from the north[3] and, even, specifically by the Moqui "because they alone know how to do such things".[4]

Pa Pi 173 773 It seems just possible that *the* Pimas who told such contradictory stories were different groups of Pimas, including some who were actually descendants of the Pueblo invaders or of those who had assumed their culture and some who represented a previous settlement. But, in course of time, the Pimans have evolved a myth which recounts, with topographical detail, how they destroyed the houses, marching through the country from east to west and working magic to crumble the walls of the "sacred houses" or "rain houses" where lived the *sivanyi*, the rain magicians. Granting that such a tale has no ranking as history, it may afford implicit ethnological evidence and, for that reason, we quote a summary of the present Papago version as told by the official narrators.

Elder Brother and Earth Magician, having made human beings, quarrelled and Earth Magician retired with his creations underground. Elder Brother's people, who spoke the same language, remained above. He cared for them until he finally offended them and they killed him. He came to life and went underground to ask

[1] Russell, pp. 226—230.
[2] Bandelier, 1892, p. 464.
[3] Bolton, 1936, p. 370.
[4] Coues, II, pp. 386—387.

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help of Earth Magician and his men in revenge. These latter were the present People.

They sent gopher above ground as a spy and he reported the people there were playing all sorts of games and "speaking our language". The underground people, in the legend called the Emergents, decided to come up. They emerged at a place called Smooth Ground, an alkali plain at the extreme east of the present Papagueria, near Benson. Here they divided into three armies and marched west. One army went north, through the Gila valley, one south through the Altar and the third in the middle through the present Papagueria. The great houses fell before their magic and the inhabitants fled, some far to the north, and some far to the south. These latter are still to be found in Sonora and are called Jackrabbit Eaters.

The People marched west across a great water (Colorado River?) which parted to let them through but closed again so that many of them could not get back (floods?). On the far side of this water they fought with the Fox Enemies, who had underground houses like fox holes; the Bat Enemies, who attacked at night and so swiftly that they seemed flying; the Owl Enemies, who crept up like dead men. The People were beaten, so finally they crossed the water again. But they had delayed too long: it closed while they were crossing and left many on the other side where they are now.

The remainder came back to Pimeria and, under Elder Brother's direction placed prayersticks (there has been no mention of prayer sticks in the former tales) at Archie in the north and at Quitovaca in Sonora. Elder Brother then taught them the Wiikita ceremony. The scalp ceremony he had taught during the march of conquest. From Archie and Quitovaca, the people went out to settle the land.

This tale may have echoes of the walls of Jericho and the Red Sea, attributable to the missionaries. But it also sounds like a Pueblo migration myth. Its march of conquest is completely out of keeping with the peaceful and sedentary nature of the Pimans and, particularly the Papago, who abhor war and lack any pattern for boasting over its exploits. It is true that the myth speaks of the houses as crumbling by magic rather than in battle but even the idea of leaving their homes to appropriate the lands of others is contrary to Piman thought, and one wonders if it has not been borrowed from the annals of a more nomadic race.

But the story of the conquest is not the whole of the tale. The first part, abbreviated in the summary into a paragraph is what, to most Papago, constitutes the origin myth. It relates to the ancient people and ends with the death of Elder Brother, while the second part begins with Elder Brother's resurrection and ends with the march of conquest. In spite of the logical form given the tale

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by orators whose hereditary function it is to tell it dramatically, many informants are vague about the connection between the two parts. They tell the first part as though it had happened to the present Pimans, describing carefully how Elder Brother taught them many of their arts (though never great house building). Then comes the resurrection, unique in the myths of the area, and Elder Brother reappears as a war leader. But again his people are the present Pimans.

It seems obvious that two myths have been joined to produce the narrative. The first, dealt with in detail under Ceremonies, shows likenesses with the myths of Mexico, of the Yumans and of the southern California Shoshoneans who were in contact with them. It mentions specifically the origin of the drinking ceremony which is Mexican in affiliation. The second, beginning with the emergence from underground, resembles the migration myths of the Pueblos, and mentions distinctly that the Wiikita (prayerstick ceremony) the one completely Puebloan ritual, was instituted after the march of conquest.

The tale indicates intimate connections of the Papago with the Sonoran cultures and so do such ceremonials as the drinking feast, the intervillage games, and the salt pilgrimage so similar to the Huichol pilgrimage for peyote and containing, perhaps, a reminiscence of a time when the Gulf of California was not so distant from the Papago habitat. It also shows Pueblo connections in the point for point correspondence of the Wiikita with Hopi ceremonials and in scattered resemblances, constantly appearing. But other Papago traits have their most direct resemblance with the Shoshoneans of the Basin or of California. Such are the extreme importance attached to the menstruating woman, the cult of the eagle, the local organization of the ceremonial leader and the fetish. Many of these are not unknown to the Uto Aztecans to the north or to the south, but they appear there obscured by other more elaborate developments. Their important place in Papago life needs historical explanation.

Such explanation involves careful study, ethnological and archaeological, of the Piman Sonoran area and the trails leading to it. Kroeber has pointed out the resemblance of pottery made by the Mission groups, Cahuilla, Luiseño and Dieguеño and by the Seri of Tiburon Island to that of the Papago.[1] Sauer and Brand found on the fortified hills of southern Papagueria and northern Sonora a pottery unlike Hohokam,[2] and the connection of these

[1] Kroeber, 1925, p. 703.
[2] Sauer, 1931, pp. 116, 117.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

821 Maiden at Puberty with Instructors:— a semi-circle of stars with one bright one in the middle; the Pestle: — two stars horizontal, two vertical; Flock of quail: — a cluster of small stars; the North Star, called the Unmoving Star: — it is the stopper for the hole in the sky through which Buzzard took refuge in the flood.

211 [869] 805 173 Papago youth were taught the tribal traditions by listening to the official narrators who told them as often as asked during the winter months, but always during the "four days" of the winter solstice. Beside this ancient history the record of recent events was kept on a calendar stick similar to that recorded for the Pima.[1]

The first entry is in "the year the world went wrong": 1839 while the facturis of Sonora were at war and the southern Papago settlements were broken up. The man who began it was a boy at the time and was "startled" by the catastrophe; so cut a notch in a stick to remember it. However, the earliest Pima stick known had been begun in 1833 so that he may have had model to suggest the idea. The Papago stick was kept first at Standing Rock, then at San Xavier, and there were, besides, one at Anegam and possibly others. Keeping a stick was entirely a personal venture, undertaken by anyone who had enterprise and memory for the task. The keeper stored it in his own house and passed it down to any male descendant capable of memorizing its record.

The San Xavier calendar stick is a length of cactus rib, six feet long and with notches cut on its flat side about an inch apart. Each notch represents a year and is cut after the liquor ceremony which inaugurates the rainy season and the Papago year. In the space between the notches, the keeper of the stick marks any crude device which occurs to him as a means of memorizing the year's events. [386] The symbols are roughly incised and colored with red and blue, made from red clay and greasewood soot. A few simple signs have been worked out, such as a puncture in the middle of the space, representing the quadrennial harvest ceremony and a scratch at the side, meaning a death. Otherwise the symbols are the personal invention of the maker and his successor must learn them by heart.

The San Xavier stick was, until twenty years ago, at Standing Rock in the keeping of the man who began it. He frequently [764] recited its record and some of the older men learned it. At his death, his widow broke the stick and threw it away as a ceremonial act, but two San Xavier men rescued the pieces and copied them. The present custodian is the son-in-law of one of these two, the son having been unable to memorize the symbols. The custodian, in

[1] Russell, pp. 34—38.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

reciting the history of the stick, uses the technique of the origin myth: he begins at the beginning and proceeds straight through, without interruption and using as many nights as are necessary. It was by hearing such recitals that he himself learned the record. The writer negotiated with him for pauses at certain points when questions might be asked but he found it very difficult to remember under such circumstances. Papago etiquette requires that the learner shall never interrupt.

MEMORIZING

Akin to the learning of the calendar record is the learning of rituals. These, as mentioned above, are passed down by their owners to chosen male relatives but when no relative is available, the council itself may ask that a stranger be instructed. The method of instruction is for the teacher to recite the whole ritual through as many times as needed and then for the learner to say it all through. This sounds difficult but there are certain aids to memory in that the directions are always mentioned in order, every episode occurs four times and there are standard poetic phrases always recurring in specific connections. Still, learning a long ritual by this process may take a year.

Understanding the ritual is a separate accomplishment, not possessed by all. The writer found some old men who had spent years in thinking over their memorized material and discussing it with others. But this had been done after the learning was finished: while in the position of pupil, they had no right to ask questions and many of them had never done so. As a result they had learned by rote not only archaic words but misplaced words, and could not understand their own ritual. The habit of learning by heart, with the meaning a secondary consideration and questions forbidden, is to be considered in the teaching of Papagos in modern schools. The doubt and analysis to which White children are conditioned, even before school age, are absent in Papago attitudes and must be taught in school, not taken for granted.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

it always succeeds. You see, the women had told me to spit on a crystal but I had no crystal. I did what I knew, and because of the power of that dream, I could cure.

The man who is now our chief was brought to me, all the way from the Burnt Seeds. He had not nursed for two days; he was starving; his jaws were stiff. I rubbed his jaws with warm ashes and then pushed up the back of his head. Next day he nursed. His parents were so glad; they wanted to go home then. But I said: "Stay another night. You will shake the soft place loose again." So they stayed. That baby got well, and they gave me a big, a very big willow basket and a length of muslin. Whenever I went long after to the Burnt Seeds to drink cactus wine, his mother would say to that young man: "Will you not make a gift to your father's relative? She saved your life."

Once, after I had begun to cure like that, I found a crystal. I looked down at my feet when I was fetching water, and there it lay. But I did not know if a woman should have a crystal; I gave it to my husband. He used to carry it around in his pouch, even though he was not a medicine man. But once he went to the rain-drinking at the Burnt Seeds and someone stole it.

This husband was a singer. I have told you how he sang for the maidens' dances. Many, many songs he knew. I used to hear him singing all the time as he sat on his mattress in the evening. He was a clever man, too, a man who could think and count. He had a long stick of cactus rib, and on it he had kept the history of our desert people. He began it when he was ten years old, long before I was born.

There was a great battle in Mexico, then, between our people and the Mexicans. Our people gathered all their women and their cattle into a big fort, on Elder Brother's mountain, and they tried to keep the Mexicans away. But they could not. They were conquered. We call that "the year the world went wrong." My husband was frightened in that year; he a little boy and hearing of all those people dead. So he got a long stick and made a mark on it, to remember. Every year, after that, he made a mark and some strange figure in blue or red to tell what had happened that year.

All our people used to come to hear that history, and he would sit on his mattress, blinking his eyes, for he was already getting blind. He would put his thumb on a mark and tell them all that had happened that year with the names of the people who ran in the races and who made the dancing songs, and what nicknames were given. All the way from one end of the stick to the other, he would go and never forget. While I lived with him, those marks stretched farther and farther down the stick.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

He put his marriage to me on it. When you see the stick, you will find it there. 159x 173

This husband was one of the clowns who makes the people laugh at our great harvest ceremony. The clowns wear masks, you know, great white bags of deerskin, pulled down over their faces with tiny eyes painted on them and just little holes to see through. They talk in a squeaky voice because we think the clown is a magic person who comes from far in the north and talks a language we do not know. So when we went to the harvest festival and I saw the clown, I never knew it was my own husband. 159x 196

He and I always went to the harvest festivals. He was good to me; he took me everywhere. I have been lucky in my husbands; I never had to stay home.

The festival was always at the Narrow Place where Elder Brother told us to have it in the beginning. We all went there with our teams, starting ten days early. We took with us corn meal and grinding stones and plenty of dried food, so we could entertain all our relatives when they came to our camp. There we cut branches and put up little shelters for ourselves, but we did not need much for it was in the month of Pleasant Cold. [574]

All day long our men went away to practise in the big shelter where the singing was to be. We heard their songs floating over to us, we women, and we were glad. Of course, we did not go near the shelter. Those songs are for men, they are very sacred things. You cannot ask any Indian woman about the harvest festival. That is a thing from which we keep far away.

But we were happy. We cooked all day long, on the little fires outside our shelters. Always some relative was coming to stand there and smile at us: "My elder sister!" "My younger sister!" "My father's younger sister!" "My mother's older sister!"

When one came who had had some one die since we saw her last, we all stood there and cried in the sunshine, to show her how we all felt together. [765]

In the evening, when we were getting supper ready, the clowns would come running to all the camps squeaking in their sacred voices and holding a basket out for food, to feed the men in the Big House. Then we all gave them food, and we were afraid of them, too, because clowns have much power. Once I put tamales in the clown's basket, and there, under the white blanket that was tied around him, I saw a piece of my husband's trousers. "I'm not going to give you anything more," I said. "I know you now." The other women said I must not speak like that. They were afraid. So I kept on giving him food.

At the festival, my husband cured the sick people. Everybody who feels badly sits in a row at that feast and they call to the clown: 159x 196 155

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

Chapter II

UP TO THE PRESENT

FEW Papago know the story of their tribe even during the last few centuries. No longer do the old people tell stories of the past as a regular part of family gatherings on the long winter nights. Today the ancient stories are told only by request—the tale of how the Papago came to their country, the legends of their early life on the desert, and scarcely less often are heard accounts of the more recent Apache raids and the new dispersal of the people. The young and the middle-aged live in the present and look—sometimes hopefully, sometimes anxiously—toward the future. Now, despite their tribal pride, few have more than a sketchy acquaintance with the time before their grandparents or even before their own parents; hence, some of the history given here is not known to most of the Desert People themselves, though parts of it come directly from them.

Papago history may be divided into four periods. The first is prehistoric and is known mainly from archeological remains. Then follows a hiatus which, as yet, no one has been able to fill. The second known period is that of sporadic contacts with Spanish missionaries and soldiers and of the struggle against the Apache, with a slow adjustment to certain new ideas but little change in the basic culture. The third era might be called "the early reservation period," when contact with the Indian Service began. During this time the Apache wars ended, contact with a foreign culture was slightly accelerated, and a redistribution of the population began. The fourth and last period, beginning about 1933, might be called "the new era." It is the period of more intense contact with white culture, of the beginning of public works and wage work in the Civilian Conservation Corps, of the acceptance of the Indian Reorganization Act, and of a quickened cultural change. Through these four periods we will briefly trace the course of Papago history—a course that is probably unique among American Indian tribes in its comparative freedom from conflict with land-greedy whites.

[For the text of the legend relating to the traditional wandering and settlement of the Papago people, see category 539, pp. 25-34.]

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

usually commercial brands have to be resorted to. It is smoked in corn husks. The leaves of *viopóli*, a bush in the foot-hills, are also sometimes smoked.

In the afternoon the leading men began to wake from their slumber and, as there were many features of the feast I desired to have explained to me, I induced them to have a conference. Outside of the house of the Keeper of the Smoke there was some convenient shade and, stretched on a mat with the rest, I had a couple of hours of very interesting conversation. Many years amongst the Indians gave me some knowledge of the fundamental traits of their religious ideas, which evidently very much surprised those present. They had such fine faces, full of determination and sincerity! Ragged and poor though these people were, I could not help admiring the expression of their countenances, especially those of the principal men, flushed with enthusiasm attendant on the festival. They gave me clear and unequivocal answers. When I had finished all my questions one medicine-man said: "I suppose he is one of those white men who want us to give up all our ancient beliefs and customs." Assured on this point, they said they were glad to have me remain at the rancheria as long as I wished. They also informed me of a calendar record preserved by a man who lived in the Baboquivari Range. Of this I made a note as the object for an excursion.

"Might I see what was inside the long basket on the dancing places?" I asked. This they could not very well do. Few of the Indians themselves had seen it, they

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

reach the camp of the man who possessed the calendar record of which the Indians had told me. It grew pitch dark before our day's journey was over, a large blazing fire, which enlightened us as to the position of the camp, guiding us from some distance. Our arrival naturally caused surprise, but was easily explained, and the man promised to show his calendar stick the next morning.

This calendar, which, as far as I know, is the only one existing in the tribe, is an attempt at keeping a record of events by various marks on a wooden stick. Made from pine board, it is seventy-nine inches in length and one and one-quarter inches broad at the middle, narrowing toward the ends, and about an inch thick at the centre, which is the thickest.

The old man, when fifteen years of age, had taken it into his head to begin a record of the events of his life, giving to each year a space of about an inch on the stick, separating one year from another by a transverse notch. He thus made one notch for each year that passed, and their number had now reached sixty-seven. The events of the year are depicted by crosses, dots, lines in various positions, as zigzags, angles, parallels, etc., and, as they have significance and meaning only to him, are less interesting from the point of view of the markings than from the events recorded. More than one kind of mark is rarely applied for each year. As the record of happenings that appeared to him important, accompanied by his own explanations, may be of interest, I shall give here the principal ones:

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

159 In 1849: Unusual snowfall, killing men and beasts.

173 In 1850: Successful attacks by the Apaches on the Maricopa at Red Rock, as well as on the Papago near Magdalena, Sonora.

[721]

In 1851: Severe disease, called "black vomit," appeared. Its symptoms were painful fits and cramps. Dark-colored blood would flow from the mouth. When the sufferer vomited, it was a sign of relief. Many Indians died, including some medicine-men. (This may have been yellow fever.)

[164]

In 1852 and 1853: Papagoes repelled attacks by the Apaches in Arizona.

[721]

In 1854: Papagoes fought with the Apaches at Santa Ana, Sonora.

In 1855 and 1856: Death of relatives.

In 1857: American soldiers were killed by Mexicans at Caborca. (This alludes to the defeat of the filibusters under Captain Crabbe.)

In 1858: Birth of a girl relative. She afterward became makai (medicine-man.)

[505]

In 1859: The Papagoes in the winter went to dance with the Pimas, below Sacaton, in order to secure wheat. (It was also the custom for the Pima to help at the feasts of the Papago, the reward being in either case grain or domestic animals.)

In 1860: Prominent chief died.

[721]

In 1861: Papagoes in Mexico engaged the Apaches and were victorious. The booty, consisting of shields, bows, and arrows, was sold to the Mexicans for mescal brandy and maize.

In 1862: A fight with the Apaches in Mexico.

In 1863: His first marriage took place.

In 1864: His first child was born.

In 1865: Apaches captured one Papago, who later escaped.

In 1871: Apaches made peace with the whites at Arivaipa.

In 1874: Apaches attacked San Xavier.

In 1875: Ball games with foot-racing at Caborca, Sonora. He won in betting, one horse, saddle, and bridle.

[164]

In 1876: Disease, accompanied by the loss of hair. Many died. (Perhaps this was typhoid fever.)

In 1880: The railroad arrived at Tucson.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

In 1881: A relative became crazy, killed his wife with a knife, and then himself. 159 173

In 1882: First *fiesta* in Mexican fashion took place at a rancheria which formerly existed where at present the Indian Oasis is. (This means that the Indians of Arizona began to adopt the social gathering in use among the Mexicans, without imparting any religious importance to the festival. A fiesta among Mexicans always includes dancing, which, in our time, has been adopted by the Papagoes of Sonora, but generally not in Arizona. On the occasion related, the people danced one by one in a circle.)

In 1885: A visit to a Pima feast. Many singers went, and many others, all well dressed. [527]

In 1887: An earthquake in the "flowers disappear" moon. [133]

In 1889: The Pima took part in a dance in order to secure cattle. This was in the "dry grass" moon.

In 1890: A feast at San Xavier in the "dry grass moon."

In 1891: San Xavier Indians came to dance at Kvitatk (near the "Pump-house" near Horseshoe).

In 1893: A foot-race at Kvitatk in "inner bone" moon (winter). The racers starting in the middle of the day, ran as far as Santa Rosa, returning at dark (about 8 P.M.). [526]

In 1897: Foot-races at Áktjin.

In 1898: Two nephews put in prison in Yuma for smuggling mescal brandy.

In 1899: Two relatives imprisoned in Tucson for stealing cattle.

In 1901: He was isolated at Tucson on account of small-pox in the family. [164]

In 1902: A foot-race at Tjeavólitak.

In 1903: A foot-race at Kvitatk.

In 1904: The purification of girls in the winter. [783]

In 1907: His friends put in jail for fighting at a sahuaro feast at Kvitatk.

In 1908: Many Papagoes that were attending the fiesta of San Francisco in Magdalena, Sonora, were imprisoned for resisting the Mexican authorities when being pressed into military service to fight the Yaqui. A chief from San Xavier went down to Magdalena and helped them to get out.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

285 material of which they are made was formerly a certain grass, which may still be used, though generally wheat straw takes its place. Strips of mezquite bark are employed in the binding. The granary basket has a flat cover, made in the same way, which is sealed with mud. Sometimes it is plastered throughout with mud as a protection against rats.

285 The pleasing designs seen in the old baskets are rapidly disappearing on account of the deplorable lack of æsthetic sense among those who are eager to buy Papago baskets. The makers are actually encouraged to insert crude representations of men and beasts in preference to the former beautiful conventionalized designs which the innate artistic sense of the Indian had evolved. The trader also teaches the Papago to make the baskets quickly and cheaply, in order that more money can be made in the market from ignorant buyers. A society for the preservation of aboriginal American art is of urgent need and should be attempted even at this late day.

• 173 It is difficult to ascertain anything about the origin or early history of the tribe, beyond the traditions that the people when returning from across the sea left ceremonial sticks at Caborca, Quitovaquita, and Santa Rosa.

[611] 616 822 The tribe is divided into five groups, descent being in the male line. Their names have lost all meaning; two of the groups (*mam* and *vav*) are known as red-velvet ants (*vōki óhimal*) and three (*ókul*, *ápaṗ*, and *ápki*) as white-velvet ants (*'tóa óhimal*).* Any animal that has red about

*The so-called velvet ants are females of certain wasps (of the family *mutillidae*).